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## Israeli Troops Will Not Halt Use of Deadly Force in Gaza

By Joanne Ormang  
*Washington Post Service*

**WASHINGTON** — Israel will continue to use lethal force against Palestinian rioters even as Israeli leaders push for international peace negotiations, two Israeli cabinet members said Sunday.

In separate broadcast interviews, Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said that the past two weeks of violence in Israel-occupied territories have damaged peace efforts, but not beyond hope.

"It's clear more than ever before that only a political, peaceful diplomatic settlement can provide the necessary answers," Mr. Peres said from Jerusalem on CBS-TV's "Face the Nation."

He said that the Israeli public is increasingly ready for negotiations, even as it backs its troops: "The problem really for the time being," he said, "is not what will be the permanent settlement but what will be the first step."

Israeli troops have killed at least 21 protesters, wounded nearly 200 and arrested more than 1,000 since Dec. 9, when demonstrations began against Israel's occupation of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank of the Jordan River. The State Department last week urged Israel to maintain order "without the use of lethal force."

Meanwhile, in Jerusalem, diplomats said that Washington has cautioned Israel against deporting large numbers of Palestinians allegedly involved in the violence. Mr. Rabin reportedly is considering the expulsion of 15 to 20 Palestinians from a list submitted by the military.

Mr. Rabin, who oversaw the anti-riot strategy, said from Tel Aviv that the troops at first had used rubber bullets, fire hoses and tear gas. "But whenever our soldiers are in danger, their life is in danger, they are allowed to open fire with live ammunition," he said.

### Kiosk

#### Hungary Eases Rules on Travel

**BUDAPEST** (Reuters) — Hungary announced more liberal travel regulations on Sunday and an amnesty for Hungarians holding hard currency illegalists, the news agency MTI reported.

From Friday, Hungarian passports will be valid for five years, and for repeated trips of up to 90 days, extendable when appropriate.

Until now, Hungarians had to apply for an exit visa each time they wanted to travel to the West. In addition, Hungarians currently holding convertible currencies may bank it without fear of prosecution if they are willing to exchange one-quarter of it for forints.

### MONDAY Q&A



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adding, "We'll try to reduce it to the minimum."

Mr. Peres said he would describe the shooting as "an accident, not as a policy."

A State Department official said later that the position was "not unexpected," but that live ammunition is "not an answer to the problem we decide, we will do it," a senior army official said.

Samuel W. Lewis, a former U.S. ambassador to Israel, said on NBC-TV's "Meet the Press" that the State Department's criticism last week of the use of live ammunition "went right to the edge of being a mistake" because it excited a nationalistic reaction.

The State Department official disagreed Sunday.

"We feel strongly that Israel is not really looking at the long-run situation in using live ammunition," he said. "They have international responsibilities as occupying power, yes, but they have to keep secret from the defense, citing security."

The United States has opposed deportations. Sources said that American diplomats had discussed the matter with Israeli officials and noted that international criticism of Israel, already high, would only increase if deportations were ordered.

Tailed defense of conditions at military prisons in the West Bank, trials have begun in five military courts for dozens of those detained.

Military officials said no final decision on deportations had been made. "The security forces will decide who to expel and at the moment is 'not an answer to the problem we decide, we will do it,'" a senior army official said.

Israeli officials consider deportations their harshest weapon against Palestinian activists and contend that they use it sparingly. Since a tougher policy was initiated in 1985, the army says that 18 persons have been deported, while Palestinian groups put the figure at 44 because they count those expelled after a 1985 prisoner exchange.

Those expelled have a limited right to appeal, although Israel's high court has never reversed an expulsion order and the army often has evidence kept secret from the defense, citing security.

The ministers again rejected allowing the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the peace talks, although Mr. Rabin said that "in the context of a Jordanian delegation," there "should be a Palestinian representation," perhaps drawn from "those who reside in the territories." Jordan's role is crucial, he said, because 60 percent of its people are Palestinians.

"What we have to do here is to move the minds, the hearts, the people of the Arab countries, their leaders, the Palestinians, is that by war, threat of war and terror, public disorder in a violent way, they'll achieve nothing," Mr. Rabin said.

He rejected any comparison of Israeli behavior with that of South Africa, on the grounds that Israelis make up a 3-2 majority in the occupied territories, while the Pretoria government represents a tiny minority of the black nation.

#### Detainees Go on Trial

*Earlier, Glenn Frankel of The Washington Post reported from Jerusalem.*

Palestinians involved in the protests appeared before Israel's military justice system on Sunday, with lawyers representing Arab detainees charging that their clients have been beaten, mistreated and denied fair trials.

Senior army officials denied the charges and gave an unusually de-

fensive look at their armaments and ask some troubling questions:

Is there a way to perform the present limited escort operations with smaller forces? Conversely, how much larger would the forces have to be to make the waterway truly safe for shipping?

The questions are sure to be examined by the U.S. defense secretary, Frank C. Carlucci, when he visits the Gulf early next year.

But officials from the nations involved, especially the Americans, look at their armaments and ask some troubling questions:

Yet the minesweepers, frigates, destroyers, cruisers, carriers and battleships of the U.S. force, which includes 20,000 sailors and marines, cannot be said to have imposed a meaningful peace on the Gulf.

With about 30 U.S. Navy ships in the region operating alongside at least as many naval vessels from West European nations and the Soviet Union, the Gulf and its nearby waters sometimes appear as choked with warships as a pond with water lilies.

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# For a Ugandan Priestess, a Bloody Crusade Nears Its End

By Sheila Rule  
*New York Times Service*

NAIROBI — The words of a self-styled priestess in Uganda appeared to represent a balm to people squeezed by poverty, tribalism and bloodstained political volatility.

"I am poor and needy," Alice Lakwena told peasants, associating herself with their miseries. "I am hurt to the depths of my heart. Like an evening shadow, I allow about to vanish. I am blown away like an insect, my knees are weak from lack of food."

But the dominant supernatural force was "Lakwena," through which the priestess was believed to receive messages from God. Diaries said the spirit was that of a former Italian Army officer who drowned at 95 and was a "God-fearing and disciplined person."

Such professed powers had great appeal among many of Uganda's deeply religious and superstitious peasants.

Miss Lakwena said that "His Holiness Lakwena" told her that Uganda had to be rid of "bad people," including those among her own forces. Some former rebels told reporters that they were fighting not against Mr. Museveni but for God.

"We were fighting for judgment," said Moses Opira, 23, after his capture. "The judgment is on both sides. When people die after battle, Lakwena would say it was their fault. Whoever dies is a sinner."

Miss Lakwena quickly gathered followers, forcing some to join under threat of death, government officials and captured rebels said. Spurred by her mixture of Christianity, traditional African beliefs and promises of peace, bare-chested rebels ran into battle singing hymns and clapping.

Their foes was the well-armed National Resistance Army, led by the head of state, Yoweri Museveni, who took power after a military victory in January 1986. Miss Lakwena's movement, which she reportedly viewed as a religious crusade to rid Uganda and the rest of the world of evil, is now virtually destroyed.

Witnesses say the rebel leader is wounded and, with a rosary around her neck, is being pushed through the bush on a bicycle by a handful of loyal followers.

She is said to be about 140 miles (225 kilometers) northeast of Kampala, the capital, which she once vowed to capture before taking her mission to South Africa and Sudan.

Up to 6,000 peasants, soldiers from previous governments and other disaffected Ugandans journeyed hundreds of miles with Miss Lakwena, whose name means messiah in her Acholi tribal language.

Accounts by captured rebels and the journals they kept, which the Ugandan government made available to reporters, revealed how her movement, the Holy Spirit Movement, mobilized hopes.

The entries, written by scribes ordered to record Miss Lakwena's sayings, military commands and magical potions, also offered insights into the realities of a nation shaken for years by gross misgovernment, brutal violations of human rights and endemic tribal, ethnic and political conflicts.

Miss Lakwena was born Alice Auma in the northern district of Gulu, the daughter of an Anglican catechist. She converted to Roman Catholicism and became a self-described herbalist and traditional healer.

Followers said she was possessed by several spirits, including those of an Arab, a North Korean and one called a "wrong element," a demon so fierce that it would lead Miss Lakwena to order the execution of anyone who coughed while she was talking.

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Their bodies were smeared with what they were told was magical oil that would make enemy bullets kill those who fired them. They threw stones that they believed would explode like grenades.

In and out of battle the Holy Spirit followers were to abide by strict codes of conduct. They were to "listen to Lakwena only." They were not to smoke, drink, have sex, steal or take cover while fighting. They were never to eat with any non-Christian and were not to kill snakes, which were viewed as important when Judgment Day came.

The priestess, sometimes called "Mommy" by her followers, also appealed to deeply rooted tribalism.



Alice Lakwena, center, with followers at a camp east of the Ugandan city of Jinja. The photo was taken in October, before she reportedly was hurt in a clash with Ugandan troops.

Most of her followers were northern Acholis, who dominated the army before Mr. Museveni's predominantly southern forces seized Kampala.

Haunted by Uganda's violent history, peasants believed that Mr. Museveni would move to massacre the Northerners. Rights groups and others have accused government soldiers of violating human rights in the North.

With the loss of control over the army, the Acholis lost the remittances that soldiers sent home to support the region's economy. At the same time, cattle raiders from the East carried out violent attacks on the peasants, many of whom believed the raids were supported by the government.

For these people with few options, hope was found in a woman who promised them salvation.



A DISTURBANCE IN SEOUL — A demonstrator hurling a gasoline bomb Sunday at a riot police bus during a demonstration against the victory by the government party's presidential candidate in recent elections. Policemen broke up the protest with tear gas.

## In First, Nude Painting and Abstract Win Awards at a Chinese Exhibition

By Daniel Southerland  
*Washington Post Service*

SHANGHAI — For the first time in China, judges at a national art exhibition have awarded a prize to a nude painting.

An abstract painting also won one of the 15 prizes at the exhibition, which opened here last week.

Nude and abstract paintings have caused controversy in China for decades.

Only in recent years could Chinese artists openly exhibit paintings of nudes.

As recently as last year, officials sometimes barred nudes from exhibitions or removed them from the walls.

The nude painting that won the award, titled "The Earth," depicts a woman and a man lying parallel on cloth pallets. The woman is facing upward and the man downward. The painting conveys a tranquil, ethereal quality.

"Although "The Earth" is not perfect in its proportion and composition, it gives us a sense of purity with a simple, implicit style," Ge Weimo, an exhibition judge and member of the secretariat of the Chinese Artists Association, told

the official China Daily newspaper.

The award seems to reflect a more relaxed atmosphere following a Communist Party congress in late October. The congress led to the retirement of two leading party ideologues who favored strict controls over art and literature.

It is unclear how far this apparent relaxation will go.

Only a few weeks before the party congress, police prevented a Beijing painter from exhibiting his work in a city street.

A well-known young artist who paints nudes and sometimes works in a surrealistic style has been refused permission to travel abroad.

When Liu Jixian, 27, a self-taught artist who goes by the name Xian, mounted an exhibition of his works here last year, he included several paintings showing voluptuous female nudes moving in a dreamlike manner through the old Imperial Palace.

He was visited by two men, apparently police, who told him that "the masses have some complaints about these paintings."

The artist was advised to move the paintings to a small room adjoining the main exhibition, where he could show the nudes to those who asked to see them and "those who can understand them."

The 440 oil paintings shown last week at the Shanghai exhibition center drew large crowds, with young people in the majority. Only a few nudes and abstract paintings were included. Most of the works on display were in realistic styles.

The China Daily found it remarkable that most of the paintings had no moral or political messages.

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## Moscow Gives Data On Chemical Arms

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

MOSCOW — The Soviet Union has disclosed for the first time that it has about 50,000 tons of chemical weapons in its arsenal, and has accused the United States of disrespect for countries trying to negotiate a ban on the weapons.

In a statement issued Saturday through Tass press agency, the Foreign Ministry said that its stockpile is about equal to the chemical arsenal of the United States. But it said that Western estimates of 250,000 to 700,000 tons were "absolutely fantastic."

For years, the Kremlin denied that Soviet armed forces had any chemical weapons. More recently, it has admitted to holding toxic weapons but declined to disclose figures.

The lengthy statement criticized the American decision to begin production of binary chemical weapons in mid-December.

The Soviet leader, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, and President Ronald Reagan agreed at their Washington summit meeting early this month to negotiate a "verifiable, comprehensive and effective international convention on the prohibition and

destruction of chemical weapons."

But just a week later, U.S. production on the binary weapons began.

The United States contends that it stopped making toxic weapons in 1969 but was forced to launch the binary program because Moscow had accumulated stocks in the years since then.

The Foreign Ministry called work on binary weapons "militaristic in its nature" and an "unprovoked" step toward a chemical weapons race.

It accused the United States of impeding the Geneva chemical weapons talks because of its desire to begin producing the weapons.

The ministry said that to end the "deception" of the West's claims, it was "authorized to state that the stock of chemical weapons in the U.S.S.R. does not exceed 50,000 tons in terms of poisoning substances."

It added: "According to Soviet expert estimates, this corresponds to the chemical weapon stocks of the United States. Moreover, all Soviet chemical weapons are located on Soviet territory."

The production of chemical weapons by the United States "is nothing short of an attempt to torpedo the process of chemical disarmament" and represents "a manifestation of disrespect" for the countries seeking a ban on such weapons, the ministry said.

The Geneva talks moved closer to a global ban on toxic weapons when Moscow dropped objections this year to on-site inspection to verify compliance with an accord.

Soviet and American experts have since visited sites in each other's country to see how chemical weapons would be destroyed in the event of an agreement.

In another development Sunday, the Soviet Union conducted an underground nuclear test explosion for military purposes, Tass said.

The test, which Tass said was "to perfect military technology," was the third by Moscow since the superpower summit meeting and the 16th since the Soviet Union ended a unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests in February. (AP, Reuters)

## India Said to Get More Mirage Jets

By Associated Press

NEW DELHI — India has received nine more Mirage 2000 jet fighters from France, bringing its Mirage fleet to 49, the United News of India said Sunday.

But it quoted unidentified official sources as saying that India has rejected a French offer to produce about 150 Mirages under license in India in favor of acquiring more Soviet MiG-29 fighter planes. The Indian Air Force, which relies heavily on Soviet combat aircraft, has 44 MiG-29s and 400 of the less sophisticated MiG-21s, MiG-23s and MiG-27s.

The new Mirages are fitted with two French-built Super Matra Magic 530 air-to-air missiles and two Matra 550 missiles.



ARKANSAS TRAVELER — As floodwaters caused by heavy rains rose along the Mississippi River, Charles Hodges (left, in boat) was evacuated Saturday from his

home in West Memphis, Arkansas. Governor Bill Clinton issued a state disaster declaration and has asked President Reagan for a similar declaration from Washington.

## Robertson Reprise: On God and Governing

By Wayne King  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Pat Robertson, the Republican presidential candidate who resigned his ministry to ally concern that he would impose religion on government if elected, said emphatically when he was a minister that he believed only devout Christians and Jews were qualified to govern.

A review of his writings and commentary on "The 700 Club," the religious television program he was host of for two decades, also shows that Mr. Robertson maintained that government is subservient to the will of God and that democracy is "next best" to "government controlled by God."

As a political candidate he has increasingly distanced himself from such statements, and in some instances denied making them.

The Robertson campaign strategy is to portray him not as a television evangelist, which he denies he ever was, but as a "Christian broadcaster" who espouses conservative values.

But over the past two decades, Mr. Robertson has made many religious pronouncements on television and in four books.

In a "700 Club" broadcast on Jan. 11, 1983, he discussed whether Christians should participate in government.

Asked why he had denied making the remark, he said: "I didn't remember it. I didn't remember it that way."

He added: "I think they feel about them more strongly than others do."

In a 1984 book, "Answers to 200 of Life's Most Probing Questions," Mr. Robertson began a discussion of the question, "What is the purpose of government?" with the statement, "Government was instituted by God to bring His law to people and to carry out His will and purposes."

He also wrote: "Perfect government comes from God and is controlled by God. Short of that, the next best government is a limited democracy in which the people acknowledge rights given by God but voluntarily grant government limited power to do those things that people cannot do individually."

Mr. Robertson said: "Yeah, I'm saying that I just said it."

"I think anybody whose mind and heart is not controlled by God Almighty is not qualified to be the judge of the ultimate sense to be the judge of someone else," he went on. "No

one is fit to govern other people unless, first of all, something governs him. And there is only one governor I know of that is suitable to be judge of all the universe, that's God Almighty. Yes, I did say that. You can quote me. I believe it."

In an interview in Time magazine in September, Mr. Robertson said that he had "never said that in my life."

"I never said only Christians and Jews," he added. "I never said that."

Mr. Robertson now concedes that he did make that comment, but he said in a telephone interview that he did so when he was a minister, not in his present capacity as a candidate for president.

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He said his remarks about the second coming are often misinterpreted by those who think he is advocating, rather than merely predicting, Armageddon.

He also denied that he is playing down his religious beliefs now that he is a candidate.

"I've really only got two months to deal with the perception that I am talking about world issues," he said.

Nor, said, does he think that discussions of faith healing, speaking in tongues, performing miracles accounts of personal conversations with God and Satan hurt his candidacy.

"I know these things are real, and I'm not backing off from them one bit," he said.

One celebrated incident, originally filmed and broadcast by his Christian Broadcasting Network and replayed on television news shows, depicts Mr. Robertson holding one hand aloft, head bowed, telling a hurricane, "in the name of God, I command you" to turn north. Mr. Robertson said the reply indicated, "He's had it up to here

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MONDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1987

# INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

## Soviet Reforms: Round 1

There's no doubt Mikhail Gorbachev's determination to breathe new life into the wheezing Soviet economy. But there are already reasons to think that his first round of reforms will fail.

The general secretary's hastily prepared, superficial plans offer easy targets for the muscular Soviet bureaucracy. The best hope for lasting change lies in Mr. Gorbachev's ability to communicate with the Soviet elite; he will have to persuade them that there's no turning back, that the alternative to a competitive market-based system is stagnation and the erosion of political legitimacy.

The first serious test of *perestroika* starts Jan. 1, when the first of the major economic reforms take effect. Enterprises generating some 80 percent of Soviet output will cease being passive cogs in the wheel of the central plan. "Self-financing" plants will be free to bargain with suppliers and wholesale customers for some products. Successful enterprises will be permitted to keep much of their profits, with the extra rubles going into higher wages and fringe benefits. Unprofitable enterprises will suffer the classic capitalist penalty: bankruptcy.

By 1991, all civilian production is to be similarly unleashed, and the fraction of output purchased by the government pared to just 30 percent. Mega-subsidies that now encourage the waste of fuel and food will be phased out. Small-scale cooperatives will be encouraged to sell services like computer software and watch repair. And millions of acres controlled by collective farms will be leased to families for a share of the crop.

Those are the reforms. But even before the ink was dry on the decrees, the bureaucrats were sabotaging their effect. Only prices for new products will be freed. Enterprises will thus be under great pressure to retool for new products, but will remain obliged to meet absurdly output goals left over from the current central plan. A manager's best way to avert early failure will be to give priority to orders from the state, whose bureaucrats can guarantee timely deliveries of scarce inputs. The decentralized wholesale market, key to efficient pricing, may thus wither before the first blossom.

Manufacturing is already highly concentrated and skeptical: note that the decree encourages large enterprises to grow still larger through conglomeration. The intent is to get the maximum bang from technology and to create a counterweight to the government ministries. The more likely effect, though,

— THE NEW YORK TIMES

## On to Mars, Via Moscow

The U.S. space agency keeps looking at the heavens through bizarre bifocals. At a time when the paramount need is to reduce the federal deficit, NASA's top goal is to build a \$32 billion space station that has no clear purpose. Congress knows that, yet is willing only to cut in half NASA's request for \$770 million in start-up funds.

It would do better to transcend timidity, cancel this celestial circus and point NASA to a more productive long-term goal: a joint mission to Mars with the Soviet Union.

This is no time for big-dicker space shows. In the next few years, a sensible space budget would be devoted to cheaper unmanned missions, like launching satellites to monitor the earth's climate and environment, and robotic spacecraft to explore the solar system. But NASA also needs a long-term goal for manned flight that can focus its efforts without requiring immediate large outlays.

The Russians are ready. "We should go to Mars together," Roald Sagdeev, director of Moscow's Space Research Institute, said in a recent article in The Washington Post. The offer is not made from weakness. The Soviet Union, unlike NASA, has ample launching capacity, and a vigorous program for exploring Mars. Several unmanned missions are planned before the year 2000, starting in 1988 and 1992 with a spacecraft to prospect for water, map terrain and land on Phobos, a Martian moon.

President Reagan is an enthusiast for space. He endorsed the space station, and sent a schoolteacher to ride on the shuttle. But he has lost interest since the Challenger exploded, and has let NASA drift; it's not too late for him to leave a legacy than the militarization of space. He could put a joint mission to Mars on the agenda of his next meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev.

Is an occasion for pleasant interaction

— THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Other Comment

### 33's Suggestions Ignored

The signing of deficit-reducing legislation by President Ronald Reagan was quickly hailed by G-7 finance ministers and central bank heads, who pledged further efforts to stabilize the foreign exchange market. But considering the size of the U.S. deficit, the budget-tightening package is decidedly inadequate, and none of this had any real impact on the market itself.

Thirty-three of the world's leading economists have proposed measures the U.S. government should take to avert a global economic crisis. They urged drastic cuts in expenditures — including military spending — and revising the tax system so that people will save and invest more and spend less. But, unfortunately, it seems that these perfectly sound suggestions have fallen on deaf ears in U.S. government and congressional circles.

— The Asahi Evening News (Tokyo).

### Another Threat of Famine

As drought, guerrilla wars and governmental bungling again create a risk of famine in Ethiopia, there is hope that the terrible toll of 1984-85 will not be repeated. But that is by no means certain. At present, governments have contributed about half the food aid needed next year, according to the U.S. Agency for International Development. But private voluntary organizations, which handle almost all the deliveries, are running low on money, and there has not been a repetition of the public outpouring of funds that was crucial in the response three years ago.

"The situation is the opposite from 1984-85," an official of the Save the Children Federation said. "Then, the public was up in arms and the government was slow to respond. This year the government has been quick to respond and the public at large is nowhere."

— The Los Angeles Times.

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## OPINION

### An Old Story, With New Hope

By Flora Lewis

**P**ARIS — The Christmas story is always present, always news. It is the story of joy and renewal of life, of eternal yearning for hope, in one form or another, it exists in every religion, even in ideologies that reject religion because all people want to look for something better, something surer, something consoling. But there never really was a golden age. The calamities, the violence, the distress of the front page are not really news. What is more familiar from the Holy Land than an account of hatred and suffering, of injustice and abuse of power? So it was in the time of Christ, so it seems to remain today. So the old story summons again a sense of humility and a need to reach for higher inspiration. Its message is of the divine spark in everyone that enjoins us to recognize our common humanity.

Hatred is deeply human. We see it everywhere, lately in Sri Lanka and India, Iran and Iraq, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Uganda and Kenya, South Africa, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Peru, and on the streets of the United States of America, too, but it is often forgotten. Still, the endless battle can be tipped. Attitudes do change. Europe is an example. It is still armed to the teeth. But after a millennium of mutual massacre it has no more illusions about glory, nobility, rewards of war. It took time, but the transformation of the Scandinavians from aggressive tribes bent on conquest and pillage to determinedly peaceful and generous citizens is one of the feats of history.

The world is getting bigger and smaller at the same time, a bewildering shift that history provides few guidelines on how to

face. It is bigger because it is burgeoning with people, now five billion compared with probably less than a million at the start of the Christian calendar. It is smaller because of communications: we are aware of each other at the greatest distances and we know quickly when something goes terribly wrong anywhere. That requires new attitudes and new willingness to accommodate the other, the alien, even as we cling in desperation to the familiar to reinforce identity and reassurance dignity.

In the 19th century, Westerners believed in the inevitability of progress. Europeans thought they had found the secret of improving the world with their manufacture, their science, their importance with things as they were. Now we are not so sure. We have much more manufacture, much more science, much more impatience. But we also know more of dread and of the terrible things we can do to each other and to ourselves; progress has become a question as much as an answer. The doubts should not be overwhelming, though. Many things are in fact immensely better, as a result of hard human effort. A huge number of people live very well and for longer and longer life spans, in ways that would not have been imagined at the turn of the century. A much larger number, because there are so many more, subsist on the brink of survival. But this is no

longer simply taken for granted, as God's affair, not mankind's. Conscience has broadened and there is a sense that we could do something about it if we tried harder, sought to be wiser, more helpful. And there is a sense that the world has come too far for the afflicted to accept in docility that their lot cannot be otherwise. The late James Baldwin, a man who knew how to make music of rage, said, "It is terrible to watch people clinging to their captivity and insist on their own destruction."

That is true, and it is terrible to watch the destructiveness of rage, as it is exhilarating to watch people lift themselves for life, and not only themselves but those among whom they must live. In the late 20th century, more of everything is possible but there is also more understanding of the hubris of righteousness, of being too certain that our heartfelt needs and demands are creating solutions rather than new, perhaps greater problems. Attitudes about the formulas for Utopia have changed, too. The French philosopher Andre Glucksmann warns in his book "Stupidity" ("La Béte") that the inevitable consequence of setting oneself up to make over the world, as ideologies do, is what he calls "idiocracy." Who can know what is good for everybody else? Those who pretend to wind up doing what they think is good for themselves, at the expense of everybody else.

The modest goal has to be to avoid hurting, to prevent harm, to nurture the gentleness and tenderness, the reverence for life that the Christmas story evokes.

The New York Times

## NATO Needs a Leader as It Enters a Year of Challenge

By Frederick Bonnard

**B**RUSSELS — NATO's challenge: What now? If the question does not exactly echo through the alliance, it certainly is on peoples' minds. And it needs to be answered if NATO is to enter 1988 with any sense of confidence in its future.

The INF treaty has been signed and, unless there is a hitch, the missiles will be out within three years. A strategic arms reduction treaty is well on its way, and NATO experts are putting the finishing touches to a substantive conventional arms control proposal that, it is hoped, will be ready for negotiation by next spring. NATO therefore appears to be in good shape. Lord Carrington, NATO's secretary-general, has certainly declared it to be so. The Americans, from President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz and Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci, have given numerous assurances to the alliance. And at the Dec. 11 meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Brussels, the foreign ministers of all the NATO countries reaffirmed their belief in and resolve for the strategy of flexible response.

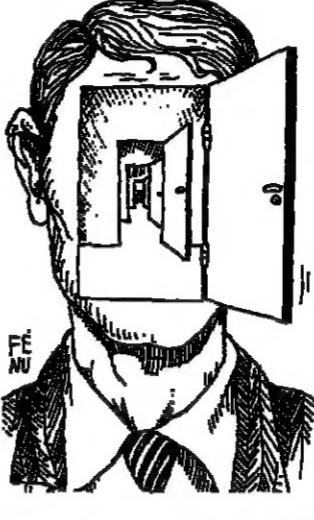
The reality is somewhat different. In the first place, this strategy depends on a mixture of nuclear and conventional forces, which requires each member to make a continual expenditure on its defenses. Yet defense expenditure in almost all NATO countries is leveling off or declining, while the United States is facing dramatic cuts.

But there are far graver problems. Slowly, at first almost imperceptibly, a German problem has arisen. Its symptoms are the increasingly audible complaints of being "singularized" in the alliance. These complaints emerged in the wake of the double zero decision and the pressures, real or imagined, that arms treaties provoke. A round trip to Mars would take about a year, with a few weeks on the Martian surface. It would be an adventure fraught with risk and with compelling public interest. Preparing for the trip, and the uncrewed reconnaissance visits that would precede it, would draw the two countries together, force each to rely on the other's skills and divert competitive energies into positive channels.

The Russians are ready. "We should go to Mars together," Roald Sagdeev, director of Moscow's Space Research Institute, said in a recent article in The Washington Post. The offer is not made from weakness. The Soviet Union, unlike NASA, has ample launching capacity, and a vigorous program for exploring Mars. Several unmanned missions are planned before the year 2000, starting in 1988 and 1992 with a spacecraft to prospect for water, map terrain and land on Phobos, a Martian moon.

President Reagan is an enthusiast for space. He endorsed the space station, and sent a schoolteacher to ride on the shuttle. But he has lost interest since the Challenger exploded, and has let NASA drift; it's not too late for him to leave a legacy than the militarization of space. He could put a joint mission to Mars on the agenda of his next meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev.

Is an occasion for pleasant interaction



relationship in which the inevitable doctrinal contest will be carried on at a political level, with a greatly diminished element of military threat. But this new game can be played only by a strong and united NATO. It therefore must continue to make the effort of will, and continue to be clear about its aims. For this, strong and lucid leadership is essential. This is the challenge that NATO faces in the coming year.

The writer is editor of *NATO's Sixteenth Nations*, an independent review of economic and military power published in Brussels. He contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

## Only Truth Will Best Serve Israeli and American Jews

By Anthony Lewis

**B**OSTON — American supporters of Israel have made a crucial difference to the Jewish state's safety and development. They have reason to be proud of their effectiveness. But the time has come for them to recognize that they do not serve Israel's real interest if they rise automatically to the defense of everything the Israeli government does.

I read that statement with particular surprise and regret because I know Morris Abram, in another context, as a man sensitive to those deprived of basic rights. As a lawyer in Atlanta, decades ago, he fought racism and the dilution of urban voting power.

The protests by Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank, and Moslem fundamentalists groups ... In the face of this continuing series of provocations, Israel has sought to react with restraint."

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The white power structure always maintained that "its Negroes" were contented until "outside agitators" stirred them up. Mr. Abram would have laughed at that. He knew that people who were denied rights and who were kept in line by force did not need outsiders to make them feel resentful.

The Palestinians in Gaza live in circumstances of crowding and misery, without political rights, serving as a pool of cheap labor. Israel's Soweto, as the Israeli writer Amos Elon has said. Yet Mr. Abram says it took outside "terrorists" to incite them.

The continuing series of riots and acts of violence in the West Bank, Gaza and parts of Israel have been

relationship in which the inevitable doctrinal contest will be carried on at a political level, with a greatly diminished element of military threat. But this new game can be played only by a strong and united NATO. It therefore must continue to make the effort of will, and continue to be clear about its aims. For this, strong and lucid leadership is essential. This is the challenge that NATO faces in the coming year.

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## The Hart Campaign's Hidden Helpers

By William Safire

**W**ASHINGTON — The hidebound power brokers of the Democratic political establishment must be in cahoots with the parangdums of the media mafia to bring about the nomination of Gary Hart.

His populist strategy could not have been made more plain to go over the heads of the politicians and pundits who condemned him and by goading them to new heights of arrogance, to "let the people decide" if his admitted private transgressions made him ineligible for public office.

Both pols and pundits fell all over themselves in rushing to cooperate with Mr. Hart's strategy.

Democratic muckmeisters fumed at the man's colossal gall, to seek a comeback without clearing it with them: the Democratic national chairman broke the rules of neutrality to bump him; the field's six-pack of candidates were horrified at the prospect of competition from a famous campaigner; the Florida state chairman sputtered that he would prevent Mr. Hart from getting on the Democratic ballot — but that denial of voter rights was a bit much and, after it became clear that it would cause a convention credentials crisis, the chastened official ever so quietly backed off.

But outraged muckmeisters outdid even the apoplectic pols. By what right did anyone refuse to bow to the moral judgment of the keyhole? Even Richard Nixon had the decorum to wait years before coming back — who dared do so after a per-

iod six months of penance? The psychiatric couch potatos of talk shows and news magazines fixated on Hart's exterior motive — as the motive of all the other candidates was something far nobler than a normal desire to run the country or a politician's need to be No. 1.

Thus has the Hart strategy been successful so far; the pols and the pundits are lined up nicely against him and the people. But this honey-moon of monolithic opposition can't last. Sooner rather than later, some shrewd old Democratic pols will grasp the coming Affinity of the Outsiders: a Southern muckmeister tells me that Jesse Jackson who will have a large bloc of delegates at the convention, already has made a welcoming overture by telephone last week to the man he sees as a potential winner. We'll see a handful of savvy pols quietly move toward Mr. Hart, followed by a couple of constituency-conscious feminists, thereby diluting the purity of the present confrontation.

Worse, the media punditry will swing, as it always does; a few reporters will undertake contrarian analysis and stop scoring the Hart campaign as "self-resurrected." Television types will learn that a brief mention by Mr. Hart that his headquarters is in Kittridge, Colorado, has drawn mail with checks totaling nearly \$5,000 a day. A

United front against Mr. Hart, so helpful, will crumble soon after he has used it as a launching pad. Deprived of that supportive opposition, he will have to answer the subsequent "uncleable" charge by winning most of the weekly primary elections. Then, at the convention, the anybody-but-Gary die-hards will be forced to test the strength of the Affinity of the Outsiders.

The New York Times

have a record trade deficit, still face protectionist legislation and, with a weak dollar, now face inflationary pressures from higher-priced imports.

It proves a point that both Mr. Burns and Paul Volcker, another chairman of the Fed, liked to make: When a major nation starts the process of depressing its currency, it's impossible to predict the outcome.

The Washington Post

## 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1837: Who Rules Paris?

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# AFTER THE WAR WAS OVER

168  
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Robert Capa, *The Liberation of Paris, 25 August 1944*

Robert Capa, *The New Look, Paris 1947*

David Seymour, *Arturo Toscanini, 1954*

David Seymour, *Disturbed orphan, 1948*

Werner Bischof, *In the ruins of Warsaw, 1947*

Henri Cartier-Bresson, *The Ascot Train, Waterloo Station, London 1953*

Erich Lessing, *Railroad workers, 1956*

Photographs by Werner Bischof, René Burri, Robert Capa, Henri Cartier-Bresson, Elliott Erwitt, Ernst Haas, Erich

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28-12-87

## Environmentalists in Soviet Union Test the Limits of Citizen Activism

By Bill Keller  
New York Times Service

MOSCOW — In the Armenian capital of Yerevan, angry citizens have forced local officials to promise that a chemical plant blamed for high rates of cancer and birth defects will be relocated.

In the town of Kirishi, in western Christ Russia, a band of citizens led by a local postman shut down a plant manufacturing synthetic additives for livestock feed.

In Moscow, in the face of student protests, the authorities have abandoned plans to demolish several old buildings.

These are heady times for Russia's environmentalists. Officially and unofficially, concern has blossomed for the icy lakes percolating with industrial wastes, the historic buildings razed to make way for high-rises, the city air choked with the effluents of progress.

Even where environmentalists have failed in their immediate goals, they have pressed the limits of citizen activism, openly challenging projects that have the imprimatur of the Communist Party and government ministries. Some groups have even begun to question the wisdom of the Soviet nuclear power program.

The first successes were scored

by an influential few. When Moscow announced in August 1986 that it was dropping plans to divert two Siberian rivers for irrigation, primary credit went to Russian writers such as Vasili I. Belov and Valentin G. Raspoutine, who campaigned against the project because it threatened to flood large swaths of the primeval land in which they find the mystic roots of Russia. The cultural elite has undertaken similar campaigns to defend Leo Tolstoy's homestead and Siberia's Lake Baikal from industrial pollution.

But environmentalism has begun to develop a potent grass-roots following, taking on some of the character of the conservation movements of the West. Environmentalists thus find themselves in the forefront of what Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, calls "democratization."

The Soviet movement reflects genuine concern about the hangover of hasty industrialization. But it has also profited from a convergence of political developments, including the worldwide outcry over the disaster in April 1986 at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant.

"They say that one thorn of experience is worth more than a whole forest of instructions," Mr. Gorbachev wrote in Pravda in September. "For us, Chernobyl became such a thorn."

At the same time, the grandiose projects of the Khrushchev and Brezhnev eras have fallen from favor. Such symbols of socialist gung-ho as the still-uncompleted Baikal-to-Amur Siberian railroad or the river diversion projects are now eschewed in favor of what Mr. Gorbachev calls "intensive" development, which means upgrading existing facilities with newer, more efficient technology.

Mr. Gorbachev has also discovered that the environment fits neatly into his foreign-policy theme of an interdependent world. He now routinely mentions acid rain or the ozone layer in his speeches as an illustration of the problems the superpowers might solve together — if only they would disarm.

It may be that Mr. Gorbachev's supporters in Moscow feel that the environment is safe ground for the nurturing of the popular initiative they need to shake off the pervasive lethargy of Soviet society.

Local officials do not always see it that way. In Leningrad, the business hub of unofficial environmentalism, leaders of Spasenye (Salvation), a popular preservation group, and Delta, a tiny group organized to battle a flood-control project, have been harassed and criticized in the local press, even as the national newspaper Izvestia has written sympathetically of them.

### Soviet Airline Gets Some Flak

Reuters

MOSCOW — The Soviet state airline Aeroflot still suffers from high-handed management and corruption despite a change in leadership earlier this year. The Soviet Communist Party newspaper Pravda said on Sunday.

"Attempts to change the style of management have come up against a stone wall," Pravda said in an article headlined "Ministry of Closed Doors."

It added that the number of accidents remained unacceptably high while cases of bad discipline at work and drunkenness among Aeroflot personnel had increased.

### Soviet Crime Fell 8% In Year, Official Says

Agence France-Presse

MOSCOW — The overall crime rate in the Soviet Union fell by 8 percent this year, with some serious offenses down by 14 percent, an official said Sunday.

V. Trushin, the first deputy interior minister, told the daily Izvestia that 600,000 "small fry" mostly people caught stealing from their work places had been arrested, and that 180 militiamen had been sentenced for corruption.

For the first time since the 1917 Revolution, according to Mrs. Scherbakova, two new types of Soviet art buyers are active on the market. One group is composed of intellectuals or professionals who



The Associated Press  
**MAN OF THE YEAR** — This 1954 wedding portrait of Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev is one of the rare family photographs that will appear in Time magazine's Man of the Year issue this week. In naming the Soviet leader as its 61st Man of the Year, Time described him as a 'dedicated Communist and a ruthless political opportunist' who has become a 'symbol of hope for a new kind of Soviet Union.'

## MOSCOW: Holiday Buying Soars

(Continued from Page 1)  
the average worker. At Yakimauka, lunch for two costs a worker two days' salary.

Yet they are always crowded with Soviet and foreign patrons. At Kropotinskaya, dinner tables must sometimes be reserved a week in advance. "The people who come here are not necessarily rich," Yakimauka manager Rafael Shalyanov said. "Either they are people who like good Oriental food or people who are out for something exotic. People have been waiting for decent restaurants here for a long time."

Another pastime is buying artwork, including paintings or portraits that Soviet painters have taken to selling in open air bazaars in the past year, and more expensive works by contemporary Soviet artists. Prices vary widely. During auctions held in the past few weeks by the cultural fund, however, some bid up to 135 rubles for a well-known Soviet-made ceramic, and up to 600 rubles for contemporary paintings.

For the first time since the 1917 Revolution, according to Mrs. Scherbakova, two new types of Soviet art buyers are active on the market. One group is composed of intellectuals or professionals who

used to favor ikons or earlier Russian art but now also buy modern art. The other group includes workers or their wives who buy the cheaper art now available in parks and open fair.

The latter do not have very discriminating tastes, she said, "but let them buy kitsch, as long as they help along the trend of spending money on something."

Since July, when a new law was published promising to increase the number of private plots available to Soviets, a rush has been on for everything from large country houses to garden patches in the countryside surrounding Moscow.

According to a recent article in the newspaper Sovetskaya Rossiya, a no-frills dacha sells for about 2,000 rubles (\$3,200), or a year's salary for the average Soviet worker. But they can run much higher. In the latest Vechernaya Moskva supplement, for instance, one listing was for a brick lakeside house with a motorboat, a backyard beehive and other extras. The owner did not list its price, but local real estate experts said it could run up to 10,000 rubles or five years' salary for a worker.

With the Soviet market expanding for dining out, buying art and second homes, the market for rubles also seems to be bursting at the seams. Although Soviet banks do not make loans as a rule, a letter published in the Communist Party newspaper Pravda last week cited "rumors" that loan sharks are already operating privately, lending out rubles at high interest rates.

## STRAUSS: Sign of a Thaw

(Continued from Page 1)

U.S. Navy officers on cruisers and other smaller ships say they could defend themselves against an Iranian air attack without the carrier's jets.

The Christian Social Union is the most conservative wing of Mr. Kohl's coalition government.

Mr. Strauss strongly resisted the plan to eliminate shorter-range missiles and other medium-range nuclear weapons. But he has been active in dealing with Eastern Europe.

He was instrumental in lifting rightist resistance to dealings with East Germany by arranging a huge credit deal for East Germany in 1983. He has visited Poland, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria to generate business for Bavaria.

Mr. Strauss's trip is expected to be followed in three weeks by an official visit to Bonn from the Soviet Foreign Minister, Eduard A. Shevardnadze. In February, another West German politician, Lothar Späth, the premier of Baden-Württemberg, is scheduled to travel to the Soviet Union.

King Fahd said that it accepts the resolution in full. Iran wants Iraq to be branded as the aggressor before it will make its position clear.

The visits are viewed in Bonn as a revival of an initiative that began last summer, when the West German president, Richard von Weizsäcker, paid a state visit to Moscow, accompanied by Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

Soon after the Kremlin gave its approval to a long-awaited visit to West Germany by the East German leader, Erich Honecker.

The warming in relations followed the long chill that had come with West Germany's acceptance of new U.S. Pershing missiles in 1983.

## 25 Die in Sri Lanka Market Shootout

The Associated Press

COLOMBO — At least 25 persons were killed in a shootout in a crowded market in Batticaloa, Sri Lanka, on Sunday morning after Tamil rebels opened fire on three Sinhalese policeman and killed one of them, residents of the eastern port city said.

Eighteen of the dead were civilians without weapons, according to a priest contacted by telephone in Batticaloa, the Reverend Plus Pathmarajah. He said that local policemen and Indian soldiers opened fire in the market after the police men were attacked.

[Indian soldiers on roofs of buildings overlooking the market fired intermittently at "anything that moved," Reuters quoted the church official as saying.]

Father Pathmarajah, a Tamil, said the trouble started when fighters of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam attacked the three Sinhalese policemen, killing one.

"The three Sinhalese policemen were going marketing armed with their T-56 rifles," he said. "They were attacked by Tamil militants and their arms were removed. Thereafter all hell broke loose."

**ANGOLA: Archipelago of Terror**

(Continued from Page 1)

from malnutrition. Health standards are slipping.

Last April, Angolan officials reportedly signaled an interest in starting political talks with high UNITA officers, a European diplomat in Luanda said. The talks were to be held without the knowledge of the movement's leader, Jonas Savimbi, who is anathema to the government.

"Savimbi got wind of the contacts and had a couple of dozen people go for conspiring to talk with the Angolan government behind his back," a diplomat said. It was impossible to confirm this account.

The United States advocates a political solution to Angola's civil war.

But the war seems to benefit UNITA's primary benefactor, South Africa. UNITA's sabotage keeps the Benguela railroad closed, which strengthens South Africa's rail monopoly in southern Africa. UNITA's control of southeastern Angola also keeps that area free of guerrillas fighting for the independence of South-West Africa, a territory widely known as Namibia and held by South Africa in defiance of the United Nations.

In return, the Angolan government's main backers, Cuba and the Soviet Union, gain a key military presence in southern Africa.

## CHINA: Returning Students Adrift

(Continued from Page 1)

tanker, the Sea Isle City, was hit by a Silkworm missile in Kuwait's harbor with no warships at hand.

But other navies do similar jobs with smaller forces. The Soviet escort operation involves fewer than a dozen ships, mainly frigates, lightly armed minesweepers and supply ships. Yet, it protects not only three Soviet oil tankers targeted by Kuwait, but merchant ships carrying arms to Iraq.

The British Navy, too, carries out routine escorts of merchant ships flying the Union Jack.

The French have pulled their forces back farther from the war zone as France's tense relations with Iran began to relax in recent weeks.

On the U.S. aircraft carrier Midway, crewmen are speculating about making their first port call on the African coast before long, though they arrived only recently in the Arabian Sea outside the Strait of Hormuz.

For months the United States has kept a carrier outside the Gulf to provide an cover for passages through the strait. But the presence may cost more than it is worth.

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## IRAN: Fahd Asserts It Sows Discord

(Continued from Page 1)

who rule over Shiite minorities of varying strengths.

The monarch's statement also seemed to reflect the deep religious rivalry between Saudi Arabia and Iran, particularly since the Saudis accused Tehran of instigating riots in July in Mecca, Islam's holy city.

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(Continued from Back Page)

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**FROM  
TV  
PROGRAMMES**

MONDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1987

**ECONOMIC SCENE**

## A Rare Chance to Grapple With Shrinking Growth

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE  
*New York Times Service*

**P**ARIS — World economic growth has been shrinking, but so gradually — and so inexorably — that economists have grown accustomed to the numbers. Yet a stark tale emerges when those numbers are added together year after year and their impact is examined.

There is an academic ring to the words "slower international economic growth." But translated into human terms, these words lose their textbook abstraction. They mean longer unemployment lines from the north of England to northern Ohio and fewer opportunities for 16-year-olds from Pasadena to Paris. In the developing world, they mean something even more painful: malnourished children, ramshackle housing, high rates of infant mortality.

The numbers are telling: In the 1950s and 1960s, the global economy grew by about 5 percent a year, sending living standards galloping forward in much of the world. In the 1970s, growth fell to slightly above 3 percent, and in the '80s it has slipped to about 2.3 percent. The outlook for the next few years is for a continuing slide.

The slowdown is having serious effects on expectations and living standards in much of the world. For the average American worker, reduced growth has meant that income after inflation has not risen since 1973. In Europe, growth has been so slow that the jobless rate has soared to more than 11 percent. For the debt-plagued nations of Africa and Latin America, this slowing trend has pushed per capita income 15 percent below the levels of 1980.

Yet, as 1988 dawns, many economists believe the world faces a rare opportunity in economic history. For the first time, they say, the leading industrial nations might have the power to reverse the slowdown, mainly because of an unusual confluence of circumstances.

**I**NFLATION and budget deficits have been tamed in many nations. Corporate profits are healthy and interest rates are lower than they were a few months ago. Several important technological breakthroughs, such as fiber optics and superconductors, are waiting to be spread through the world; big technological advances often push growth by creating new opportunities and jobs.

The conditions for going back to 3 to 4 percent growth in the world economy are actually better now than they have been at any time since the 1960s," said Stephen Marris, senior economist with the Institute for International Economics in Washington.

Yet if the leading industrial nations fail to work together to help reduce trade imbalances and push growth upward, some economists warn of serious trouble. The world's fragile financial markets could take another deep plunge, they say, dragging down the world economy. If growth rates continue sliding, the trend could usher in an era of downward mobility, forcing people to work harder just to stay in the same place economically. If economic growth falls below the rate of population growth, now at 1 percent in much of the developed world, people will have to struggle to keep their living standards from falling.

Such an era of frustrated expectations could heighten tensions in the industrial world and political instability in the Third World.

"This slowdown makes it particularly difficult for the really poor countries to grow," said Angus Maddison, author of several books on world growth rates and professor of economics at the University of Groningen in the Netherlands. "Their growth is intertwined with the industrial world. They should be catching up to us and growing faster, but they are having problems because our growth has slowed."

Technically, growth is defined as the increased output in a nation's goods and services, covering everything from housing to hospital care. Many factors — from technology to economic policies — can help growth or hinder it. After World War II, it seemed natural that growth would take off as consumer demand was unleashed and economies were rebuilt. But it seemed inevitable that growth would fall from those heady levels.

But in recent years, other, more political factors have contributed to the further slowdown. Today, some economists argue that a few nations — particularly West Germany — have been overzealous in their fight against inflation, and that, in the process, they have sacrificed global economic growth.

Many economists are clearly chagrined that leaders of the industrial world do not seem terribly alarmed about the slowdown. "The most dangerous thing is the gradual acceptance that

See GROWTH, Page 9

Carl Gewirtz is on vacation. The Eurobonds column will return next Monday.

### Last Week's Markets

All figures are as of close of trading Friday

Stock Indices		Money Rates	
United States	Cents	United States	Dec. 24 Dec. 18
DJ Indust.	1,099.67	1,075.20	+1.02 %
S&P 500	1,029.00	1,018.00	-1.27 %
D.J. Trans.	1,028.29	1,027.29	+0.37 %
S&P 100	2,444.45	2,422.75	+0.78 %
S&P 500	252.02	247.34	+1.16 %
NYSE Co.	292.38	287.56	+1.68 %
British	140.80	139.15	+1.19 %
FTSE/100	1,071.00	1,071.00	+4.32 %
FT 30	1,022.00	1,022.00	+3.94 %
Japan	—	—	—
Nikkei 225	22,120.34	22,049.97	-3.09 %
Commercial	1,025.40	1,029.30	+1.75 %
Hong Kong	2,079.07	2,180.46	+9.11 %
World	n.a.	—	—
MSCI	n.a.	407.40	-4 %
World Index (from Morgan Stanley Capital Int'l.)	—	—	—

*Carl Gewirtz is on vacation. The Eurobonds column will return next Monday.*

### Currency Rates

Cross Rates		Dec. 23/24	
5	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.
Amsterdam	1,0385	1,0357	1,0321
Brussels	1,0125	1,0279	1,0263
Frankfurt	1,0285	1,0265	1,0244
London	1,0323	1,0300	1,0284
Milan	1,0199	1,0188	1,0178
New York	1,0085	1,0079	1,0071
Tokyo	1,0220	1,0210	1,0200
Zurich	1,0244	1,0222	1,0210
1 ECU	1,0265	1,0265	1,0265
1 SDR	1,0258	1,0258	1,0258

*Commercial source: To buy one pound: £1. To buy one dollar: \$1. Units of 1981 M.G.: not quoted. Not available.*

### Other Dollar Values

Currency	Per \$	Currency	Per \$	Currency	Per \$	Currency	Per \$	U.S. rate	Per \$
Arses, mixed	4.60	Peru, nuevos	4.07	Malta, pesos	24.00	U.S. rate	1.95	1.95	1.95
Austria	1,298	Belgium	1,285	Monaco	1,287	Switzerland	1,287	1,287	1,287
Austria, sch.	1,298	Bulgaria	1,2725	Nicaragua	1,287	Thailand	1,287	1,287	1,287
India, rupee	12.025	India, rupee	12.025	Portugal	1,287	Tunisia	1,287	1,287	1,287
Indonesia	65.25	India, rupee	14.025	PR China	1,287	Turkey	1,287	1,287	1,287
Colombia	1,307	Indonesia	1,307	PR China	1,287	Turkey	1,287	1,287	1,287
Chile	1,2723	Indonesia	1,2723	PR China	1,287	Turkey	1,287	1,287	1,287
Dominican	1,265	Kuwaiti dinar	0.734	Spain	1,287	U.S. dollars	1,287	1,287	1,287
Egypt	1,260	Kuwaiti dinar	0.734	Spain	1,287	Venez. boliv.	1,287	1,287	1,287
New York City, unless otherwise: (local rates)	—	Malta, lira	2,662	U.S. rate	1,287	—	—	—	—
Caracas	1,0271	Malta, lira	2,662	U.S. rate	1,287	—	—	—	—
Paris	1,022	Malta, lira	2,662	U.S. rate	1,287	—	—	—	—
London	1,022	Malta, lira	2,662	U.S. rate	1,287	—	—	—	—
Frankfurt	1,022	Malta, lira	2,662	U.S. rate	1,287	—	—	—	—
Brussels	1,022	Malta, lira	2,662	U.S. rate	1,287	—	—	—	—
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London	1,022	Malta, lira	2,662	U.S. rate	1,287	—	—	—	—
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## Weekly International Bond Prices

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Issuer	Can Mat Price	Yld Mat	Sed	Yld Mat	Sed	Yld Mat	Price		
BFC E	75	96	88	97	+	Nomura Int'l	93	94	+12
BFC E	75	97	84	97	+	Sumitomo Fin	94	94	+12
B N P	82	98	95	98	+	Sumitomo 2	95	95	+12
B C C L	94	95	95	95	+	Tokyo Kobo 2	95	95	+12
C E P M M E	75	91	93	91	+	Tokio Bank	92	92	+12
C E P M M E	75	92	93	92	+	Toyota	93	93	+12
C N C A	75	93	93	93	+	Yasuda Tst	92	92	+12
C N C A	75	94	93	94	+	Yasuda Tst	93	93	+12
C N C A	75	95	93	95	+				
C N C A	75	96	94	96	+				
C N C A	75	97	95	97	+				
C N C A	75	98	96	98	+				
C N C A	75	99	97	99	+				
C N C A	75	100	98	100	+				
C N C A	75	101	99	101	+				
C N C A	75	102	100	102	+				
C N C A	75	103	101	103	+				
C N C A	75	104	102	104	+				
C N C A	75	105	103	105	+				
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C N C A	75	113	111	113	+				
C N C A	75	114	112	114	+				
C N C A	75	115	113	115	+				
C N C A	75	116	114	116	+				
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## Japanese Investors Report Caution on U.S. Bonds

By Michael Quint

TOKYO — Japanese institutional investors are likely to limit their purchases of U.S. Treasury securities in 1988 because of continued concern about foreign exchange losses, investment managers say.

However, one factor that would make Treasury bonds attractive is the strong likelihood of a decline in U.S. interest rates next year, they said, mainly because of political pressures to keep the U.S. economy growing before the November presidential election. With bond prices moving inversely to changes in interest rates, any lowering of rates would boost the value of bonds.

Even so, Japanese investors in Treasuries are likely to incur more currency losses from their holdings because of the year's surge against the dollar in the financial year that will end in March 1988, according to sources in the life insurance industry, a major source of investment funds.

The precise amount of these holdings is not easily determined, but early in 1987, the amount of Japanese funds invested in U.S. government securities and corporate bonds was estimated at about \$100 billion.

Japanese life insurers will suffer bond losses on their investments in U.S. securities if the dollar drops

below 126 yen by the end of the fiscal year, the bond managers said. The yen is currently trading at around 126 to the dollar, having risen by 27 percent from 160 yen at the beginning of the year.

Finance Ministry guidelines say life insurers should write off such losses on foreign bonds if exchange rates at the end of the year vary more than 15 percent from the date of purchase.

"We will continue to be cautious on U.S. securities investments as long as we haven't decided that the dollar has bottomed out against the yen," said Katsuyuki Ichikawa, manager at the bond investment and management department of

Daiwa Investment Trust Management Co.

"We can't be bullish next year, too," Mr. Ichikawa said. "We are seriously looking for a new place to put our funds, but no other market is big enough to absorb them," he added.

"The dollar could stop falling at 120 yen per dollar, but nobody knows," he said.

The U.S. economy could weaken in 1988 as a delayed result of the Oct. 19 stock price plunge, he added. With slower demand for investment funds likely to push interest rates lower, bond prices should rise.

But others disagreed. "I doubt if U.S. bond prices will rise in 1988, to say nothing of the dollar's probable weakness," said Osamu Kozumi, assistant manager at the international investment department of Yasuda Trust & Banking Co.

Cheaper oil could improve U.S.

trade figures in coming months, which would give the dollar some support, he said, yet an easier U.S. monetary policy could still cause further dollar declines.

"We will continue to avoid U.S. securities next year," Mr. Kozumi said.

"Japanese investors will look more closely at the U.S. economic indicators in coming months than ever, because they are keen to gauge the real strength of the U.S. economy," said a foreign bond manager at a leading securities

that if the Treasury adjusts the withholding tax schedules to give back all of the over-withholding of 1987 as well as the 1988 decline in tax rates, about \$24 billion will be added to consumers' pocketbooks next year. If the new withholding tables allow just for the lower tax rates in 1988, only about \$8 billion will be added.

In any case, the changes are relatively small compared with the approximately \$3 trillion base of personal income. A net change of \$1 billion in tax refunds for example, represents a change of slightly more than 0.3 percent and would be dwarfed by changes in employment within the economy.

U.S. Consumer Rates	
Dec. 30	1987
Tax Exempt Bonds	7.8%
Bond Money Funds	7.8%
Money Market Funds	7.8%
Domestic T-Bill Average	8.2%
Bank Money Market Accounts	8.2%
Bank Rate Monitor Index	8.2%
New Markets FIBS Average	8.2%

Source: New York Times.

tion and a noticeable decline in overall economic growth.

Donald Fine, chief market analyst at Chase Manhattan Bank, said that the bond market had still not fully digested the implications of the automobile rebates and price-cutting at retail stores that have supported sales recently.

Besides helping to dampen increases in consumer prices, he noted that price-cutting was robbing sales from early next year. The result, he said, is a greater probability of a slowdown in the economy in the first quarter that would be the catalyst for lower interest rates.

Recent activity in the bond market suggests that others also expect lower rates in the future. At Friday's closing level of 99 17/32 to yield 8.92 percent, the Treasury's 8% percent issue due in 2017 was up more than 5 points from its price of Dec. 11, when it yielded 9.45 percent.

Economists noted that changes in federal tax laws beginning next year might have some impact on the public's willingness to buy.

Jason Benderly, an economist at Goldman, Sachs & Co., estimated

## GROWTH: Addressing the Shrinking World Economy

(Continued from first finance page)

that if all we have is 2 percent growth, that's O.K., without thinking that for many people real earnings will remain basically unchanged throughout their lifetimes," said Jean Baneth, director of the World Bank's international economics department. "That will be very different from the societies we built in the 1950s and 1960s, where there were expectations of improvement."

Although some economists say the 25-year period after World War II

achieved faster growth," Mr. Marin said, "we have to correct this incredible disequilibrium, and it will be very difficult to do that while avoiding a recession."

Mr. Marin was one of 33 prominent economists from 13 countries who signed a statement earlier this month calling on Washington, Bonn and Tokyo to take more decisive actions to reduce trade imbalances. The economists said Washington should try to cut domestic demand and imports further, and must go beyond its recent budget deficit reductions. It must, they say, cut last year's \$148 billion deficit by an additional \$40 billion a year for several years.

The economists also urged West Germany to raise imports and accelerate and expand tax cuts scheduled for 1990. And they urged Japan to push domestic demand growth above 4 percent a year.

Although most economists agree on what these three nations must do, they say improved world economic growth could become a hostage to domestic political constraints. Bonn and, to a lesser degree, Tokyo, fear that greater stimulus will mean increased inflation and angry voters. In an election year, Washington worries about how voters will react to higher taxes or more budget cuts.

"Coordination means each would have to do what's good for the world economy, but they don't want to do it," said Lester Thurow, an economist and dean of the Sloan School of Management at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The quadrupling of oil prices in 1973 is often called the turning point, when world economic growth started to slow. But other forces were already at work, including higher taxes for social welfare programs, increased government regulation, higher inflation, and exchange-rate volatility. These, in turn, contributed to a declining rate of business investment that had long served as a powerful flywheel that kept growth humming even when consumer spending slowed.

Slight investment hurt productivity, making it tougher to achieve economic growth without inflation.

During the 1970s, governments began an about-face, trying to slow growth in order to stamp out inflation.

Then came the second oil price shock in 1979. Creeping inflation began galloping; fighting it became a priority worldwide. Governments slammed the brakes on growth in ways that ranged from curtailing spending to raising interest rates.

Many economists say that reconciling the disparate approaches to fighting inflation, thereby reducing trade imbalances, would lead to faster growth. Resolving the Third World debt problem would also be a boon to growth, they say.

"Brazil, Argentina, a lot of these countries used to be very dynamic economies," said Richard Portes, director of the Center for Economic Policy Research in London. "But because everyone is worried about having to bail out a few banks, we have not yet taken the bold steps needed to bring the less developed countries back to being dynamic contributors to world growth."

"What's holding us back from

brought against Texas Air and its officials by unions on behalf of their members.

Union leaders such as Charles Bryan, the president of District 100 of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, which represents about 13,000 of Eastern's 38,000 workers, hope that the courts will block further asset sales and possibly overturn the entire acquisition of Eastern by Texas Air.

"The unions have already had some victories, including a judge's

A number of suits have been

decision that Eastern could not transfer some machinists to an independent subsidiary, since doing so would jeopardize the protection they have under their labor contract.

For his part, Mr. Baker stressed that neither he nor Mr. Lorenzo wanted to sell any assets. "We like to run airlines and not to dismantle them," he said.

But he left little doubt that the unions did not agree to significant changes in labor costs, he and Mr. Lorenzo would sell parts of the carrier.

## SAS: Preparing for Less Friendly Skies

Jan Carlson, president of Scandinavian Airlines System, returned to Stockholm last week from London after losing out to British Airways PLC in a bid for a stake in the other major British airline, British Caledonian Group PLC. Amid moves to deregulate European air travel, he discussed the pressures for such mergers with the IHT's Juris Kaza.

earlier. The more we wait, the more difficult will be the situation in selecting airlines one really wants to cooperate with. There will be other linkages taking place.

Q. You mentioned Asian and North American airlines. What makes them such a competitive challenge to you and the others in Europe?

A. For the Asian airlines, the cost situation is the greatest advantage for them. If you look

### MONDAY Q&A

at Thai International, for example, 11 percent

of its total cost is personnel. A normal European airline has something around 30 percent. And the Asians already have a high quality of service. If there was totally free competition for routes and pricing, they would be very tough to beat. The American airlines have been pressed by deregulation in the United States to be more efficient.

Q. What about the liberalization going on in Europe?

A. Yes, it's there, but we are against this step-by-step liberalization. That kind of liberalization favors the airlines in the center of Europe and is a disadvantage to the airlines in the periphery of Europe. If it were up to us, we would want deregulation overnight, because it would give us one of the most efficient airlines in Europe, a chance to compete. It would also give Europe a chance to compete, because it would put pressure on management, unions and governments to run aviation at a lower cost.

Q. Do you see a certain deadline by which you want to have SAS, so to say, "married" to another airline?

A. At the latest, of course, 1992, which is a critical date for the European Community, when it eliminates all internal trade barriers.

Certainly, we would like to have it a lot

Japanese investors needed to be assured that the dollar is starting to rebound before resuming investment, he said, although they believe it is near the bottom.

If they see a hint that the U.S. economy is weak, it will be no surprise if they resume investing in U.S. securities in 1988," he said.

Japanese investors needed to be assured that the dollar is starting to rebound before resuming investment, he said, although they believe it is near the bottom.

Q. Do you see a certain deadline by which you want to have SAS, so to say, "married" to another airline?

A. From a passenger point of view, that's nonsense, because I don't care if I fly across one border or another to catch the best flight and get the best service. That is why we think that Scandinavia, with 17 million inhabitants, is not big enough alone to support one of the

Q. Is the transformation of SAS something that could make you an attractive partner because of these management skills and experiences?

A. My experience in the last months, and not the least in the negotiations just ended, is that we do not have to "sell" ourselves to any airline anymore. It is easy to see that we are an attractive partner.

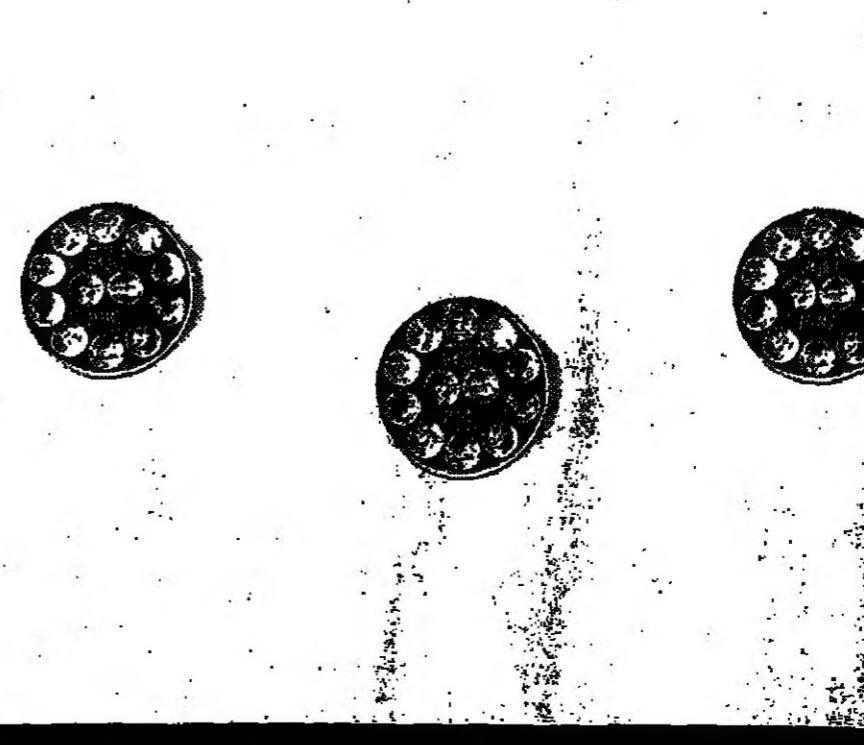
Q. Do you think that in the early part of next year you will be talking to another potential partner?

A. We sure will.

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## NASDAQ National Market

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# Meditation, and a Tan, Without Pain

International Herald Tribune

**W**NEW YORK — Right here in the middle of what the artist Red Grooms called Nervous City is the Tranquility Center and in a dim room decorated in light crystals and rows of floor mats is a Synchro-Energizer. This is a machine ideal for New Yorkers: It brings instant calm to those who haven't time to meditate.

The Synchro-Energizer doesn't actually replace meditation but gives the same effects more quickly, which is even better. "I would say that with regular use it would give the equivalent of twenty years of meditation," says Christine Zerzer, the sweet-faced young woman who runs the machine.

"I wouldn't say it was a replacement for any healthy activity, if you have one," she adds. She has been in town long enough to know that few New Yorkers do. While a few rock stars and therapists have portable personal Synchro-Energizers, Christine is

MARY BLUME

the only person in the city with a big machine that takes up to 32 people at once. Group sessions cost \$10 a person and have been available at the Tranquility Center since last month.

"Judging from the response I'm getting, it will be overwhelming shortly," she says. "People come off the machine and say this was a week's vacation in the islands including the tan."

They also tell her, "This is the best thing I've done for myself for years" — a typical New York line that in the past has referred to everything from hiring a costly shrink to eating a giant cookie.

The Synchro-Energizer was patented in 1980 by a Cleveland psychiatrist named Denis Gorges after years of research. Dr. Gorges has now abandoned psychiatry for the vastly expanding field of neuroscience, which has produced many learned articles and sprightly machines that perform what is popularly known as a brain tune-up.

Neuroscience views the brain as composed of billions of computer-like neurons that respond to electrical or other stimuli. According to Michael Hutchison's "Mega-brain," a popular study of the new science subtitled "New Tools and Techniques for Brain Growth and Mind Expansion," a whole new era is beginning and like all new eras it will make us younger, brighter and more capable than we ever supposed.

The Synchro-Energizer has disarmed skeptics from television's "Nightline" program to Cosmopolitan magazine. Most widely used for stress reduction, it is said to have at least 26 other beneficial effects including the opening of perceptions, the raising of self-esteem, the removal of ethical, emotional or critical/logical blocks



Nickolas Asaki/International Herald Tribune

and the improvement of memory, intelligence, creativity and muscle tone. It may also kill pain in the dentist's chair.

The University of Illinois is studying the use of the machine in the fields of sports performance and gerontology, the University of Iowa in education and accelerated learning. A typical testimonial states in tones that used to be reserved for black-head-removal ads: "A single, unemployed, depressed alcoholic is now successfully employed, has cured his drinking habits, is optimistic and engaged to be married."

The aim of the treatment is to stimulate or soothe various parts of the brain, increasing the relaxing theta waves and calming the very active beta waves. "The alpha, beta, theta and delta waves are being put in a synchronous pattern," Christine explains at the machine's control panel. "Theta waves are associated with meditation, with a peaceful, deeply relaxed calm."

The calm is achieved by lying on a mat after having put on goggles that emit carefully timed flashes of white light that may be perceived as colored or as falling into shapes. The subject also wears earphones through which come a collection of soothing sounds — ocean waves, a heartbeat — although different tapes can be inserted which would help dieters or those who wish to stop smoking to strengthen their resolve. Many practiced meditators prefer the tapes of Brother Peter, which sound like someone humming in an empty swimming pool.

Michael Hutchison calls the Synchro-Energizer "a pacemaker for the brain." Dr. Gorges says its users can do in 30 minutes what 30 years of meditation would teach. "We can't say it mediates for you," he said

by telephone, "but it puts you in the same state. We have a lot of people who would like to meditate but are too anxious to be able to do so."

Which sounds like a definition of most New Yorkers. Christine at the Tranquility Center says she gets cabdrivers, quarreling spouses and investment bankers shaken by the recent unpleasantness on Wall Street. "They keep coming back with their friends."

She has more male clients than female and people who work together sometimes come in before a brainstorming session. If you plug into the machine at the start of the work day it will energize you, Christine says. At the end of the day it clears fatigue.

The sight of a stockbroker plunking his briefcase down beside his little mat and donning earphones and goggles is no longer rare. One of the Synchro-Energizer's most enthusiastic users is Arch Crawford, who writes a financial newsletter and who won fame by predicting in July that the stock market would reach its top on Aug. 24, give or take three days, and then go into a horrendous crash. The all-time top was on Aug. 25, Crawford, who further predicts that a rally into January will be followed by a stock market fall as bad as October's, uses the Synchro-Energizer once a week.

"It gets me from being frazzled to being clear," he says.

Dr. Gorges will have Synchro-Energizers (the latest model is computer-interfaceable) in 150 places by next year, including Hong Kong, Sydney, Puerto Rico and, inevitably, California, the land of personal growth zealots.

New Yorkers are of course interested in

survival and not in personal growth and so it is suitable that the Tranquility Center has the drab and dingy air that is definitely part of this year's Manhattan look (a new restaurant was just praised by an architecture magazine for featuring bins of dirty dishes as part of its decor). The mats people lie on, with their reminders of schooltime naps, further instill a sense of calm.

This would not go down in California, according to Randy Adanadama (his planetary name, his real name is Randy Stevens) who runs a place called the Universe of You in Marin County.

In the Universe of You there is a reflection chamber, where people can see their images mirrored to infinity, and people who use the Synchro-Energizer lie on lounges, not on little mats.

"Marin County is the second wealthiest county in the U.S.," Randy says. "It's very laid back, the land of tubs. If you've never heard that sort of talk for years, You have to be professional with them. People in this county wouldn't lie on

the Universe of You. Randy says, customers enter a lavender, orchid and purple reception hall decorated in metaphysical neo-Art Deco style. Passing the reflection room and the automated massage tables, they enter the Synchro-Energizer room with its 32 customized lounges and, in the center, a 12-foot-tall Egyptian obelisk hand-crafted by Randy to conceal a wicker providing subspace vibrations.

It sounds grand but meanwhile, back in Nervous City, an experiment is being carried out. The guinea pig is one of New York's most nervous writers who does the goggling and headsets with utmost reluctance and then after 20 minutes of having her theta waves tickled leaps from her mat with the cry, "It's wonderful, totally relaxing. I don't even know what I was thinking! My headache left and my fingers are all working and I didn't go blind. It's very clearing — all the feathers and bits of rust went out of my brain!"

Unlikely as it seems, it looks as if the New Age has come to New York. "A lot of people who can't relax come in with a show-me attitude and they're amazed," Christine says. Her 8-year-old son uses the Synchro-Energizer if he has bee stings or hurt feelings and calls it the Happy Machine.

New Yorkers on Happy Machines? New Yorkers lying still and being good? New Yorkers with their theta waves so freshly crimped that they start thinking everything is really O.K.?

"But everything is O.K.," says Christine with her sweet smile. She is needless to say, from New Hope, Pennsylvania.

## LANGUAGE

### Frank Smiles of a Summit Night

By William Safire

**W**ASHINGTON — The world's ears were poised. As Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev stepped into the rain to say farewell after a newsless summit, the diplomatic words that would signal genuine progress in superpower relations would be *fruitful* and *productive*.

Instead, we heard the leaders characterize their dealings as *frank* and *businesslike*, or call the meetings a *useful exchange* of views. In diplomatics, *frank* does not mean "candid, earnest, forthright," as it does in ordinary language; it means "we got nowhere, and he even bluffed at me once or twice." Worse. Then it leaped forward in 1931 with *killer instinct*, resurfaced two decades later with *killer bee*, and, when Ronald Reagan once explained to angry environmentalists that trees sometimes absorb useful elements from the air, spawned the derivative *killer trees*.

In this noun phrase, the word *killer* becomes an attributive noun, performing the function of an adjective; its first appearance in such a sentence as "something inevitable" came in 1884 with *killer whale*.

Then it leaped forward in 1931 with *killer instinct*, resurfaced two decades later with *killer bee*, and, when Ronald Reagan once explained to angry environmentalists that trees sometimes absorb useful elements from the air, spawned the derivative *killer trees*.

One location chosen by Gorbachev was obscure but not incorrect.

"History has charged the governments of our countries . . . to undo the logic of the arms race." Here *logic* was used in its negative sense, as "something inevitable"; when this pejorative meaning is intended, as in the *logic of war*, the word means "a forced decision, independent of reason."

Minister Thatcher put forward a proposal to finesse the thorny issue of Star Wars testing and announced, "I have the impression it is not only being considered, but has been talked about quite a bit. In that statement, *not only* should precede *is* for parallel construction but *but also* (not just *but*).

One location chosen by Gorbachev was obscure but not incorrect. "History has charged the governments of our countries . . . to undo the logic of the arms race." Here *logic* was used in its negative sense, as "something inevitable"; when this pejorative meaning is intended, as in the *logic of war*, the word means "a forced decision, independent of reason."

**W**HEN Russians use Americanisms, the phrases are often slightly outdated. Georgi A. Arbato, one of the "Americanized" in the Soviet party, tried to explain how savvy his non-English speaking boss was about things American: "If I use a phrase like Parkinson's Law" or "The Peter Principle," I don't have to explain." A younger American generation, however, might need an explanation of both: Parkinson's Law, attributed to the historian C. Northcote Parkinson, is "Work expands so as to fill the time available for its completion" and the Peter Principle, from the educator Laurence J. Peter, includes "In a hierarchy every employee tends to rise to his level of incompetence."

Gorbachev is also enamored of a Shakespearean phrase, which he used earlier this year and repeated in Washington: "The winter of our discontent may one day come to an end." That was a phrase leading to a pun, playing on *son* / *sun*, from "Richard III." "Now is the winter of our discontent / Made glorious summer by this son of York."

Consigns were few; the *D word* was the chosen euphemism for unfashionable *déntate*, and Jacques Barzun came up with *glassonized*. However, Frank J. Gaffey, Pentagon official bemoaned for his hard-line views, came up with *Gasban*. "The fleeting achievement, after frenetic activity and inflated expectations, of a momentary and unfounded atmosphere of good feeling."

Reagan one-upped his Western ally, Margaret Thatcher, on the issue of parallel construction. As Gorbachev stopped off in Britain on his way to Washington, Prime

Minister Thatcher said, "I am not

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